

800 to sweat the part afflicted, by holding the face over a hot stone, and receiving the fumes from snow thrown on it. A large red fox was killed today." (id 222.)

"Sunday, 17th. The weather continued as yesterday, though in the afternoon it became fair. Shotawoorora and his son came to see us, with about thirty pounds of dried buffalo meat and some tallow." (id 223.)

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763 **Dying Mandan—Ceremonial.** "Wednesday, 20th. The day was delightfully fine, the mercury being at sunrise two degrees, and in the course of the day twenty-two degrees above zero, the wind southerly. Kagohomi came down to see us early; his village is afflicted by the death of one of their eldest men, who, from his account to us, must have seen one hundred and twenty winters. Just as he was dying, he requested his grandchildren to dress him in his best robe when he was dead, and then carry him to a hill and seat him on a stone, with his face down the river towards their old village, that he might go straight to his brother who had passed before him to the ancient village under ground. We have seen a number of Mandans who have lived to a great age; chiefly however the men, whose robust exercises fortify the body, while the laborious occupations of the women shorten their existence."

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787 • **Medicine Stone.** "Thursday, 21st. We had a continuance of the same pleasant weather. Oheenaw Shahaka came down to see us, and mentioned that several of their countrymen had gone to consult their medicine stone as to the prospects of the following year. The medicine stone is the great oracle of the Mandans, and whatever it announces is believed with implicit confidence. Every spring and on some occasions during the summer, a deputation visits the sacred spot, where there is a thick porous stone twenty feet in circumference, with a smooth surface. Having reached the place, the ceremony of smoking to it is performed by the deputies, who alternately take a whiff themselves, and then present the pipe to the stone; after this they retire to an adjoining wood for the night, during which, it may be safely presumed that all the embassy do not sleep; and in the morning they read the destinies of the nation in the white marks on the stone, which those who make them are at no loss to decipher. The Minnetarees have a stone of a similar kind, which has the same qualities,

and the same influence over the nation. Captain Lewis returned from his excursion in pursuit of the Indians. On reaching the place where the Sioux had stolen our horses, they found only one sled, and several pair of moccasins which were recognized to be those of the Sioux. The party then followed the Indian tracks till they reached two old lodges, where they slept, and the next morning pursued the course of the river, till they reached some Indian camps, where Captain Clarke passed the night some time ago, and which the Sioux had now set on fire, leaving a little corn near the place, in order to induce a belief that they were Ricaras. From this point the Sioux tracks left the river abruptly and crossed into the plains, but perceiving that there was no chance of overtaking them, Captain Lewis went down to the pen where Captain Clarke had left some meat, which he found untouched by the Indians, and then hunted in the low grounds on the river, till he returned with about three hundred pounds of meat, some drawn in a sled by fifteen of the men, and the rest on horseback; having killed thirty-six deer, fourteen elk and one wolf." (id 223.)

"Friday, 22nd. The morning was cloudy and a little snow fell, but in the afternoon the weather became fair. We were visited by a number of Indians, among them was Shotawhorora, a chief of much consideration among the Mandans although by birth a Ricara." (id 225.)

"Monday 25th. We were occupied in drawing up the boats on the bank. The smallest one we carried there with no difficulty, but the barge was too heavy for our elk-skin ropes, which constantly broke. We were visited by Orupsebara or Black Moccasin, and several other chiefs, who brought us presents of meat on the backs of their squaws, and one of the Minnetarees requested and obtained permission for himself and his two wives to remain all night in the fort. The day was exceedingly pleasant. (id 226.)

"Tuesday, 26th. The weather is again fine. By great labor during the day, we got all the boats on the bank by sunset, an operation which attracted a great number of Indians to the fort." (id 226.)

Report from Aricaras. "Thursday, 28th. **Mr. Gravelines with two Frenchmen and two Indians, arrived from the Ricara nation,

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up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase. 861 561 602

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first instituted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the villages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; neither were they expected. 785 881 869 [777] •

It was believed that one's social personality was determined by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg- [776]

his fundamental training in warfare. In company with other young men, and frequently afoot, whereas the main party was on horseback, they were required to travel ahead, watching from high buttes, and by means of signals to report the presence of an enemy or horses. It was necessary for the scouts to keep in touch with their leader, who, in turn, was intrusted with the duty of relaying information to the main body. New scouts were taught the proper posture when running to prevent premature exhaustion, and there were contests between scouts to determine their relative durability in reaching distant lookout points. The leader of the scouts reported the winners to the leader, who praised them publicly when the party returned to the village. The old women then sang their victory songs while the old men encouraged more fasting.

A sister was taught that fasting while her brother was away on war expeditions would bring him success in "striking the enemy" or capturing horses. She would take quill work with her at daybreak and leave the village for a low hill or mound or recline on a platform in the garden where she would cry for his success, addressing her prayers to all the holy things. If the expedition was long overdue, she would go to the scaffolds of deceased relatives or skull circles to weep, returning to her lodge each evening. Successful war parties returned to the village at daybreak, and she would leave her lodge immediately to meet her brother. If he had captured horses, the best animal was presented to her. This was equivalent to presenting the horse to all the females of his mother's lodge. These females, on the other hand, were the principal mourners if he were killed, and the married sisters were expected to undergo extreme self-inflicted torture by gashing their bodies, cutting off the ends of fingers, cutting their hair, and shortening their dresses.

Their brothers fasted four, seven, or nine days without food or water, remaining outside the village in some secluded spot for the full period of the fast. From time to time, the father would send a clan brother to observe whether his son was endangering his life, and he could stop the fast if in his opinion the young man's self-torture was excessive. A young man returning from fasting which had not induced a vision was given an object from his father's bundle to carry on war expeditions and

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785 was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

701 A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

701 Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

727 Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader would cry as he approached the village, while the other members would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be opposed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

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562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

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562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

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755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

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• 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

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224 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

774 it was a member during the life of the individual. It was the earth spirit and was believed to hover around the lodge so long as any visible evidence of the lodge ruins remained. People would see dim lights around the abandoned villages and attributed these lights to the third spirit. The fourth spirit was black and remained outside the lodge and traveled away from the village at times but would return frequently. It was represented by a shadow and was the spirit that frightened people. It was this spirit that Calf Woman believed frightened her the evening before government rations were issued so that she was unable to walk out for her share. It was also the spirit that came to a person in his dreams. When moccasins were burned at the doorway of the lodge where a person had died, it no longer frightened people.

715 The Mandan concept of the hereafter was based largely on vision experiences. They have a number of accounts of persons who "died" and then returned. All informants were in agreement that the first two spirits returned downstream. Some of the very old people who were remembered by my informants claimed that they would go to the Heart River, where their old people had lived and died. At that place there was a spirit village for each of the villages of the Heart River area, and a spirit-house stood over the body of each person either buried or placed on the prairie there. Some claimed that they would return to Baby Hill and be reincarnated into the tribe. At the present time the older Mandan think that they will return to Like-a-Fishhook Village, where they will be reunited with their relatives who lived and died there. They believe that the spirit people live in earth-lodge villages, plant gardens, hunt, and perform ceremonies much the same as during their lifetime. One's status in the hereafter is essentially the same as when one died.

715 766 Children who died before being named were wrapped in robes and placed in trees or interred apart from the rest of the dead. There were no rites, since they were not considered a part of the village until they had been named. They were believed to return immediately to the Home of the Babies to be reborn later.

000 When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives

796 at the time of the first thunder. The Eagle-trapping bundle
778 rites were still being performed, and a few old people doctored
those who were ill or had suffered an accident.

796 The secret character of Mandan ceremonialism contributed
778 to the difficulty of the study. Each Mandan ceremony was
124 secret, and rules providing for the performance of and acquaint-
ance with the secret rites differed somewhat between bundles.
In general, it was not possible to complete the study of a cere-
mony with a single informant, owing to overlapping rights in the
bundle, one informant being unwilling to divulge information
belonging to another.

•[787] This study doubtlessly does not cover all ceremonies per-
formed by the Mandan after 1837. Informants claim that all
tribal rites were preserved through the smallpox epidemics of
1782 and 1837. It was possible to obtain intelligible accounts of
all rites mentioned by early travelers to the Mandan villages.
There was, however, a reduction in the number of duplicate
bundles for the same ceremony. When reductions occurred, the
original bundle was preserved. The individual rites introduced
from time to time by the medium of vision instruction were
usually of short duration in the tribe and died out before be-
coming inaugurated into the tribal ceremonial structure. A few
instances of vision bundle experiences are cited in chapter v,
"Personal Bundles and Vision Experiences." Had time permit-
ted, several hundred vision experiences could have been record-
ed, since they were related on many social and ceremonial oc-
casions. Informants never volunteered to relate the sacred
myths or to supply data on a ceremony, nor did they volunteer
information to the effect that they owned certain rights. They
would, however, divulge the names of others having knowledge
of tribal bundles. The writer found that better co-operation was
received from an informant when a simple feast was made to
the bundle. It removed the fear informants felt when relating
the rites.

The writer was impressed with the extreme conservatism of
the Mandan. Informants frequently requested a retranslation
of a significant portion of a rite to make certain that it had been
properly recorded. They recognized variations in myths be-

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these groups set up a cedar whenever a new village was built. Each had its own set of officers, but the turtles originally belonged to the Nuptadi band into which the original Lone Man was once born, and it was necessary to borrow them whenever the Okipa was being performed in one of the other villages. They were the common property of the WaxikEna clan. Crows Heart explained that quarrels sometimes occurred in a village, with part of the population breaking away, but that in such instances no cedar would be erected or ceremonial lodge built until it was decided to make the village a permanent one. Scattercorn thought that the groups were stable, although a few families were always leaving one group and joining another. She thought that fission of villages was a difficult thing, as new Okipa officers would be needed. 621
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The Mandan have a number of creation stories which were a part of the sacred myths of the bundles and their associated ceremonies. The sacred myth of the Corn ceremony relates the exploits of the Corn People, who formerly lived below the surface of the earth beside a lake before coming to the surface under the chieftainship of Good Furred Robe. The Buffalo People, who were the performers of the Okipa, were created on the earth near Heart River by Lone Man after the lands were made. In mythological times there was an earth-lodge village of hawks to the east, bears to the north, eagles and other large birds including the Sun and Moon in the sky, to mention but a few of them. The Heart River region became a meeting place of peoples of all these groups. The Corn People migrated northward and united with the Buffalo People. Other peoples were added from time to time through intermarriage and were identified according to their respective bundles. It was believed that the visions one had were dependent on the mythological group to which he belonged. 173
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The Animal rites of the Okipa ceremony are reported to have originally belonged to the Buffalo People, who were created in the vicinity of Heart River by Lone Man and are a dramatization of the freeing of the animals from Dog Den Butte. As new groups united with them, modifications were instituted in the cere- 796
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region shortly before the first smallpox epidemic. Their emphasis was on corn rites instituted by Good Furred Robe while living far to the south.

THE OKIPA CEREMONY

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796 performed so that the day and night were properly divided. Lone Man directed the re-enactment of the flood, ceremonies at the cedar, and the use of the turtles as drums. The Hoita could not leave the lodge during the ceremony but sat in his place without speaking while the rites were being performed. This was symbolic of the time he sat in Dog Den Butte holding all the animals prisoners.

[424] Eight singers were required; six used the rolled hides or the turtles, three beating toward the "upstream" and three toward the "downstream" direction. The other two singers carried rattles. Singers bought the right to officiate, and a checkup of [614] clan affiliation of singers reveals an absence of clan restrictions. Likewise anyone having Lone Man or Hoita rights could be a singer providing he was not officiating in another capacity. There were usually many with singer rights so that turns were taken.

One man was selected by the other officers to impersonate the blue heron when none owned that right. He sat at the head of the lodge throughout the ceremony without speaking. The ceremonial paraphernalia which he wore were returned to the officers at the close of the ceremony.

The above-mentioned officers formed the nucleus of the ceremony and constituted, together with those who had previously given the ceremony, the Okipa Religious Society. To these men, meeting in council, was intrusted the duty of selecting qualified young men to give the ceremony. It is doubtful that any man could rise to the position of head or second chief who had not at one time given the ceremony. My informants were in agreement that the two highest chiefs would belong to the Okipa Religious Society by virtue, not of being officers of the Okipa, but because they had given the ceremony.

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• 787 The desire to give the ceremony was the result of a vision experience wherein one had seen buffaloes singing the Okipa songs. The vision recipient would then have a feast prepared in his lodge, to which he invited the Okipa Religious Society. After the feast he would relate his vision experience and ask for an interpretation. Not all men dreaming of the buffalo bulls singing Okipa songs were permitted to give the ceremony. A young man having such a dream would tell his parents of his supernatural

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787 experience. They would know the qualities one must possess to go through the ordeals of the ceremony. They would appraise their son's ability to meet these requirements. If he were too young or his wives were not industrious or loyal, they would advise him instead to give a feast to the men having Okipa rights, and they would, in turn, pray for his success, giving him some article to wear when out to war. It was necessary to eliminate some candidates. Even then, there were two or three performances in each village every summer as a rule. Sons of former Okipa makers received preference, as young men were expected to maintain their fathers' record.

796 When the young man having a suitable vision had invited the Okipa Religious Society in and had described his vision, the members would discuss the matter among themselves. They would either compliment him on his good fortune in receiving supernatural instruction to perform the ceremony if they considered him worthy or, if in doubt, they would tell him that it appeared that he was to give the ceremony some time and advise him to fast much, offer feasts to the older men, be helpful to the old people, and go out to war. He was then on probation. If successful, some member of the society would inform him that his former dream was genuine and that he should begin preparations to give the ceremony the following year when the willows were in full leaf. Since there was little inclination to dispense with the village summer buffalo hunt, it was necessary to set a time for Okipa performances so as to avoid confliction. When one Okipa performance was planned, it was usually held after the village had returned from the hunt. If there were to be two performances, the first was given before the hunt and the second one upon their return.

As soon as a candidate received permission to give the ceremony, the chiefs' criers announced the news through the village that "a certain man will have the Bulls dance when the next water willows are in full leaf."

According to tradition, the Okipa must be given every summer to insure an abundance of buffaloes and general good fortune. Occasions arose when none had pledged the ceremony for a particular summer. Anyone could then volunteer to give the ceremony and not be required to accumulate goods as payments

796 *The first evening.*—The ceremony began in the evening. The Okipa Maker carried in all the goods he had succeeded in collecting during the year and heaped them at the back of the lodge. Then he carried in a bag of specially prepared cornballs known as "four in one" because they contained ground corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. He also brought in a sack of pemmican. A singer brought in a dry buffalo hide rolled up like a cylinder to serve as a drum.¹⁴

[534] 796 For weeks previous to the performance of the Okipa, the clan
 787 leaders, old men, and the tribal medicine bundle-owners talked
 785 to the young men, telling them of the importance of seeking visions during the Okipa. Older clan brothers advised specific young men to fast. Men who had been successful warriors, hunters, or doctors attributed much of their good luck to the powers that they had acquired while fasting or hanging from the roof of the Okipa lodge by means of leather thongs fastened through their skin. The result was that a larger number of young men came to the Okipa lodge to fast through the four days of the ceremony. After uniting with the Hidatsa, many young Mandans preferred to fast and go through the torture feature while on eagle-trapping or buffalo-hunting expeditions as the women of the Hidatsa and Arikara tribes did not observe the same rules. The fasters came in directly after the Okipa Maker had completed carrying in the robes, cornballs, and pemmican, and ranged in age from boys of eight years to middle-aged men of thirty-five years. Each was naked and painted according to his own inclination and carried a shield and bow in one hand and the father's medicine bundle in the other.¹⁵ The quiver with the bow and arrows in it was hung back of the faster, and the medicine bundle was attached to a small twig stuck into the ground in front of him. Each carried in a buffalo skull for a pillow and sage brush for a bed. All the fasters arranged themselves around the wall, the Tamisik-WaxikEna division being on the west side, and the other half on the east

14. This dry hide was symbolic of the first Okipa in the Dog Dens when only a dry hide served as a drum through the whole ceremony performed by Hoita. For the west-side Mandans it represented one of the periods of tribal history before the turtle drums were acquired.

15. Manv had no medicine bundles but brought one belonging to the father, thinking that the might have good luck thereafter.

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side. The lodge would be full of fasters the first night. Men who had had good dreams came in only to fast a short time.

The hide drum was to the west side of the southwest post

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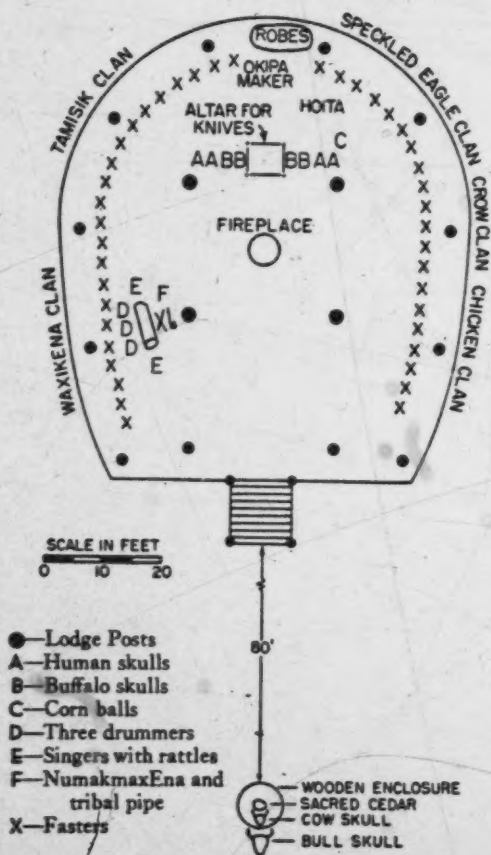


FIG. 14.—Seating arrangement for first night of Okipa

near where the fasters of the WaxikEna clan sat, and the three drummers, called the Blue Herons (Hox'ka), sat just back of it.¹⁶ The three drummers were painted red with eagle feathers in their hair and had objects from their own medicine bundles worn around their ankles. Two men serving as rattlers sat at

16. They were called Blue Heron because during the mythological period these birds were called in to pick up the worms beaten from the hide.

796 food or water and to participate in the torture features. After the
785 Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, there were usually as many Hidatsas as Mandans fasting, but the moiety arrangement of fasters was observed. In fact, Hidatsas gave the ceremony as often as Mandans at this time.

796 The turtle drums remained in the lodges of their custodians
421 during the first day of the ceremony. These turtles were con-
614 sidered tribal property in the larger sense, and the WaxikEna clan were their custodians. WaxikEna clansmen paid to hold custodianship which could be revoked by clan action. Individuals of the WaxikEna clan were willing to buy the right to keep them when the Okipa was not being performed, otherwise they remained in the Okipa lodge under the charge of the old man living there. Keepers of the turtles treated them like other medicine bundles, making feasts for them and praying to them on various occasions.

796 At sunset the Lone Man impersonator dressed up in his cere-
787 monial outfit and went for the turtles. While the Mandan were living in two villages near Fort Clark, the turtles were kept at Nuptadi Village. He went to the owner of the big turtle, the leader of the turtles, and asked him for this turtle first. It was believed that he could predict the abundance of buffaloes through the year by the weight of the turtle drums for, it was said, that the turtles were heavy when the buffalo herds were going to be near the village. People were not allowed to cross his trail when he carried the turtles to the Okipa lodge. The three turtles replaced the rolled-up hide as drums that evening. Everyone awaited word from inside the Okipa lodge concerning the weight of the turtle drums. Soon after the turtles were in their places, the old man of the WaxikEna clan who was custodian of the Okipa lodge called through the village that "the turtles are very heavy and the buffaloes will be near the village so all the people can have enough to eat."

Each of the drummers continued through the ceremony, using the turtle drums. These drums were moved four times in the evening and reached the east side of the lodge at midnight, where they remained until sunrise.

796 *Second day.*—Before sunrise, young men not having an active part in the ceremony brought in green willow branches to be

Chapter V

PERSONAL BUNDLES AND VISION EXPERIENCES

718 POSSESSION of tribal bundles inherited from the preceding
428 generation was not the good fortune of all men and women.
Some were unable to acquire hereditary tribal bundles because
they were not eligible either through birth or through marriage.
Since the oldest son usually inherited his parents' bundle or
bundles through the mother's lineage, younger sons and the
daughters could, at most, hold partial rights through assistance
in the transfer ceremonies and later became the titular bundle-
owner should the older brother die. There are numerous in-
stances of bundle transfers to a daughter and son-in-law in cases
where there were no sons, providing the daughter and family
were occupying her parents' lodge and especially when tribal
custom prescribed clan inheritance of the bundle.

787 All males and females, regardless of bundles then owned or
864 expected to be inherited at a later date, sought personal powers
785 of the supernatural during their younger years. In exceptional
instances the quest of supernatural power was continued until
forty-five or fifty years of age. Fasting began at eight or nine,
the parents recommending fasting and pointing out distin-
guished men who had been successful because of visions ac-
quired through that practice. Parents never scolded or urged a
son to fast. It was felt that a child's reputation was predeter-
mined by the supernatural and that he would learn his destiny
through the desire to fast. Parents would repeat their own ex-
periences with the supernatural, either vision-inspired or
through purchase. Small boys would be advised to fast a day or
two during the Okipa ceremony to begin with and extend the
length of their fasting at subsequent performances of that cere-
mony. Only four occasions provided formalized fasting. These
were: during the Okipa ceremony, while trapping eagles, while

PERSONAL BUNDLES

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on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom, which made dreams hard to get.

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the benefits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to secure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there, and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privilege. The older male members of the various clans were especially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only a few fasting during the ceremony.

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision. Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly after marriage.

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experiences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict torture; and still others would make presents of valued property. Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest to do, since it required much work to amass the goods.

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa ceremonies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em-

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171 ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

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765 The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a relative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

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785 Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS¹

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539 A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village where there was more grass. The Arikara came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

1. This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238-41.

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When he returned to the village, people of his father's clan took away his gun, bow and arrows, and knife. He was required to pay in robes to get them back. The more one paid on these occasions, the higher he was regarded.

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Scattercorn used the story of Big Coat to illustrate the severity of self-torture:

When Big Coat was eight years old, the Nuptadi Village was destroyed by the Sioux, and he was taken prisoner. When he was older, he escaped with his mother and came back to the Mandan. Thinking of the treatment of his people, he vowed that he would get a guardian spirit that was real strong so that he could kill many Sioux. He first went out to fast when he was seventeen years old. At first he only fasted four days at a time, and many animals offered him help. Then he began to fast seven days to get still greater gods. All the people began to recognize his ambitions and say that he would surely be lucky and become a great leader who would do much good some day. He began to cut off his fingers and offer them to the Sun, Moon, and big birds of the sky. He cut off three fingers of each hand, leaving only the thumb and middle finger of each hand which he needed to use the bow and arrow. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. He even cut off his flesh and offered it to the Holy Women.² Before he stopped fasting, he had nearly everything as a guardian. He was always successful when leading war parties.

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Offerings of fingers and flesh were made chiefly to the Sun, but included the other characters represented in the Sun bundles, which were the Moon, Old Woman Above, Woman Above (sister of the Sun), and the Holy Women. Sun was a cannibal and was believed to eat the human flesh offered to him.

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Fasting and self-torture were practiced when on eagle-trap-ping expeditions.³ The leader expected the younger men to volunteer. Dragging buffalo skulls by means of thongs through the skin of the back or suspension from trees or banks were the usual methods employed. Others drew wood to camp by means of these thongs. Fasting was not employed regularly at these camps except for short periods, since, to be successful, more time was consumed than in self-torture. When trapping was poor, many advanced middle-aged men would fast and cry to bring success. Self-torture was employed regularly when on war expeditions, but fasting was not practiced, since there was not time for the party to wait several days in one spot. Generally they were hung over a bank or from a tree. The thongs were inserted by one of the father's clan.

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Dragging of buffalo skulls was done when in the summer vil-

2. These were his father's gods.

3. See chap. vii below.

the night something pulled his blanket off, and he was frightened. He ran back to the village and died shortly afterward of pneumonia."

CROWS HEART'S REMINISCENCES AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

When a man has a real dream, everything that is going to happen comes to him in his dream. Hairy Coat [owner of a People Above bundle], fasted nine days and everything he did came to him in his dreams. An animal came to him in his dream and said, "You have suffered long enough, and I am going to send you home now. I will give you one enemy, and you can go out and bring in his scalp." The Mandan did all this fasting to get scalps just as you white men are always working to get money.

I was twenty-three years old when I first went out to trap eagles. When the lodge was ready, the men went in. That night I knew the leader would suggest that someone should suffer for the birds. That day I looked around and found a sharp bank. On top of the bank I drove a sharp stake and tied a long lariat to it as securely as I could. I knew that the Old Male Black Bear [leader of eagle-trapping party] would suggest that I go out on the top of the hills to cry as long as I could, so I did this to be ready. When I finished driving the stake, I came back and got two men of my father's clan, one being the Good Shot, to go out with me to cut holes through the skin of my chest with an arrow and insert two sticks each two inches long through the holes. After they did it, they said the bank was too high to get down alone and that they would put the rope around my breast to let me down. I told them to leave me alone and go back to camp.

When they left, the lariat [30-35 feet long] was coiled up by the stake. I crawled over the edge and fell to the end of the rope. I got such a jerk that I lost my senses. When I came to, I found myself still hanging down. I cried and ran until I made a trail along the sharp edge. Then the weight became less painful.

That night there was a heavy frost. I cried all the time. I kept running, and it was very cold. I began at dark and suffered until about ten o'clock, when two of the hunters came after me. When they got there, they caught the rope and pulled me up to the top. They tried to take the sticks out, but the swellings were so great that they could not get them loose. I had to carry the rope and sticks in my arms to camp.

When we got there, the head man laid me up where the buffalo skull was. He used a big bunch of buffalo hair to thaw out the swelling, and then the sticks came out. After the sticks were out, I went back to bed, but the swelling extended from my navel to my chin. I rolled without sleeping until nearly daybreak. I could not sleep, so I got up early to see the flag on the hill. I wanted to see if we had the right kind of wind to go to the pits.

I found that we had the right kind of wind, came back to camp, wakened the others, and told them the wind was in the west, the right direction for trapping. My breast was so swollen I had to put the rope for carrying the bait around my forehead when walking to the pit. I put my bait where it was supposed to be and sat there in the pit looking up through the covering. Soon I heard a noise and looked up. There was a large eagle coming down. He sat on

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top of my bait, and I stuck my right hand out and caught him. He was a big beautiful eagle, and that was the result I got for my suffering the night before. Before I finished killing him, another big one came down on top of my pit and walked over to the bait. I caught him as I had the other one and pulled him into the pit where I killed him, and there was never a happier person than I. I forgot all about my pains. I was happy as I thought of what I had done the night before. I did not have to go very far to get results for the suffering I did the night before. After that the leader said, since I was lucky, I should get up mornings and look at the flag to see if the winds were right.

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If a man goes out on the hills to fast and suffer and some holy person or animal comes to him and tells him that he will be lucky and kill an enemy, but when he goes out as leader, the enemy kills one of his party instead, he will come home crying because the people will think that he didn't fast right or that his dream wasn't real. Brave men will start fasting again and seek an even stronger god by fasting longer and offering their flesh to the Sun. The older men watch one who has lost a warrior when he fasts. If the suffering is too severe, men of his father's clan pay him to stop for fear that he will kill himself. After he has suffered a while, the parents of the warrior who was killed in battle will give a feast to the man and ask him to stop. When a leader goes out to war as a result of the promise of a certain animal and loses one of his men, he will reject that animal's vision instructions if sent to him again in a dream. He will keep on fasting until another god comes to him. It is often hard to get men to follow an unlucky leader. If he goes out a second time and kills or strikes an enemy, the people will say, "You have a real protector now, one that is going to be a great help to you."

My god is the horse. When I was a young man, I led a horse around the sacred cedar standing in the center of Like-a-Fishhook Village by means of thongs in my flesh until I fell down unconscious. As I lay there, a horse came to me and promised me success in hunting and warfare. I killed two enemies a long ways from home because of this dream. The horse sang me his sacred songs, but I am not allowed to sing them for you. I have done all the things the horse asked of me, and the horse has done everything he promised me he would. The doctoring you saw me do did not come from the instructions the horse gave me. The sharp stick I used for letting out matter came from my rights in the Big Bird ceremony my sisters and I bought of Big Black, my father's brother.

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I can illustrate by a story how a man organizes a war party to go out for the enemy that his god has promised him. The leader is careful to do just as he was instructed.

The party was to leave from Fishhook Village. The leaders were Old Bear (Tamisik clan), Crows Breast (Tamisik clan), and Porcupine Head (Speckled Eagle clan). I joined the party because of a suggestion by Afraid To Be Chief [his mother's brother and head of the lodge at that time] that he had no horses. If we got horses, we would be pretty well fixed. When a party of this kind is made up; they do not announce it but act quietly in preparation for the trip. A night was set to leave. Those planning to join got together a supply of moccasins and food. A lodge was designated as our meeting place. The party met this time in Two Chief's lodge. Others came to look on and wish us luck so that the lodge was packed full of people.

In addition to the leaders mentioned already, there were these warriors in the party: Big Steal (Tamisik clan), Long Tail (Prairie Chicken clan), Afraid

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lose any Young Wolves. It would be a blur to my record to 'kick the stone' so I am going back." The others returned with him. 726
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When we came back, there was nothing of importance until we reached the Killdeer Mountains, where a Sioux war party saw us. We took the middle of the flat east of the Killdeer Mountains, and one of the party killed an antelope. We wasted no time pulling the hide off, and went right on to Red Paint Creek. I laid the hide out to dry to use on my horse that had a sore back. While we were roasting the meat, a whirlwind took the hide up into the air and whirled it, all the time with the flat side down.

When it happened, we said as a joke, "The enemy is upon us," but each of us jumped onto his horse and followed the creek down to the Little Missouri. We did not stop until we reached Cedar Butte, four miles above Hans Creek, when we went into an elm thicket to rest the horses. While there, an owl came and hooted. The enemy had outnumbered us ten to one and had been watching us from the Killdeer Mountains. They thought they had us, but it was the whirlwind that saved us. It was almost a miracle that we escaped the enemy. [The enemy was never seen but was merely suspected by the signs.] From our camp in Hans Creek we left at dawn without food and rode until we reached Manure Creek, where we grazed our horses in a clearing in the woods and cooked meat. We reached Like-a-Fishhook Village at sunset.

Puts Away His Hair got no credit for the lodge even though he found it just where his medicine said it would be.

The Mandan distinguished two kinds of supernatural experiences, those which were received through dreams and those actually seen, the latter being considered the more reliable. Crows Heart thought that what one actually saw could be depended on, whereas all dreams were not real. Scattercorn told of a Mandan who was visiting the Crow Indians. She said: "A friend took him to the top of a high mountain. While there a storm came up so they sought shelter under a cliff. During the night Thunderbird came by with his wings straight out. The lightning came out of his neck, and, when he moved his wings ever so little, it thundered. This Mandan really saw this bird, and it was his guardian after that." 787

All women fasted at least once during their lifetime. Self-torture was rarely practiced except in unusual instances. Scattercorn recalled an instance when three brothers were killed by the Cheyennes, who had been in the village exchanging robes for corn. When they left, they met men coming back loaded with meat. No precautions were taken when they saw the Cheyennes, since they knew what their mission had been. The brothers of the slain men fasted and practiced self-torture to get supernatural aid. When the war party left, one sister cut off two fingers 785
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785 and offered them to the sky-gods. She slashed her legs and arms
562 where they had just healed after the mourning cuts she had inflicted. She fasted four days. Although she did not receive a vision, she attributed the unusual success of the war party to her sacrifices.

Men and women never fasted at the same places. Women usually fasted in their gardens or on the corn scaffolds. Women could pledge to give the Okipa, in which case they were permitted to fast on the roof, while a brother assumed the responsibilities of Okipa Maker. They rarely fasted more than one day and night at a time. The supernatural powers which one received were believed to be in direct proportion to one's suffering. Front Woman did not think women needed as powerful guardians as men, so she fasted only one day and night until she contracted sore eyes which would not heal. She and her mother's sister who also had eye trouble paid for the right to fast on the Okipa lodge while the ceremony was being held. Her eyes improved, but her mother's sister's eyes did not. Both fasted during the four days of the ceremony but returned to their lodge at evening.

787 Doctoring rights were included with most tribal hereditary
756 bundles, and the rights to doctor were sold with the bundle.
428 Such rights could also be acquired through supernatural instructions or purchased from one who had secured the right through visions. The latter practice, though common, did not continue for more than two or three generations. Only tribal bundles continued the hereditary character of doctoring rights generation after generation and with little change. Both men and women doctored. Women rarely doctored outside their own family until after the menopause.

The following account is typical of doctoring beliefs and practices.

MRS. GOOD BEAR'S NARRATIVE OF DOCTORING

787 My mother, Stays Yellow, fasted in the woods in quest of a god. Just before
756 daylight she fell asleep. In her dream she saw two old people doctoring
159 a woman who was having difficulty bearing a child. She saw that they were using black roots [Black Medicine] which they dug up in the forest. The old people, a man and a woman, had a hide rattle decorated with white feathers. She listened to the song they were singing. At the same time they administered to the woman giving birth to the child, they were doctoring to a number of dead watersnakes. The old woman chewed the roots and blew the chewed-up mass over the snakes; each time she blew on a snake, it came alive and

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squirmed away. The last of the snakes had young in her body and was slow to come to life. The woman blew the black root on the snake several times, and each time the snake gave birth to a young snake until all were born. The old man and woman then instructed Stays Yellow that she could doctor women when they had difficulty bearing children. My mother never killed snakes after that; she always blew some of the medicine root on any snake near our lodge and then carried it away.

My mother's mother, Coyote Woman, lived with her husband between the Knife and the Heart rivers.⁶ He was very mean to her and beat her a great deal. He sent her out every morning at daylight to see if there were any animals in their pits. One day there was a large wolf in one of the pits.

The wolf said, "Take me out, and I will give you power to do anything you ask."

Coyote Woman did not know what to do because she was afraid of her husband. The wolf knew her thoughts. He coughed up a blue stone.

"Take that stone and use it among your people," he said. "If you use it, you will stay awake all night just like the wolves do." She took the stone and let the wolf out.

From fear of her husband, she told him what had happened. The old man was very cross and inquired how much power the wolf gave her. She showed him the blue stone, and the old man took it away from her.

When the wolf gave her the stone he had said, "If anybody in your tribe is mean to you and you want to get rid of him, cut out an image of him in leather, put the stone beside the image, and cover both with hot ashes. Then the person will die."

She told all this to her husband. She had had another husband when she was young, and the old man immediately put a piece of hide cut out in the shape of the other man together with the blue stone into the ashes, calling the other man's name. That night the old man and his wife could not sleep. The next morning the woman's first husband died. She knew that she would have to get the stone away from her husband or he would kill half the tribe, so she stole the stone. When he missed the stone, he beat her; then he took her to the prairie where he drove down four posts, tying her arms and legs each to a post. In the night the wolf came and chewed off all the straps, thus setting her free.⁷

The Wolf said, "Any time you want to know anything, come out on the hills and I will tell you."

She went home and slept during the day. A large bear came to her and said, "You are having a hard time. From now on, you must go among your people doctoring. People will give you white buffalo robes, leggings, dresses, and moccasins, for you will cure all who ask your help."

Then the wolf came to her in her dream and said, "Tell your husband to go on the warpath. The first time the wolves will send him good luck and all the people will praise him; the second time he won't come back, for the wolves will eat him."

He did as she said. The second time he did not come back. After ten days,

6. This was the village of the Awigaxa and Istopa bands.

7. This suggests Hidatsa beliefs concerning wolves. See "Wolf Ceremonies" in Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, MS).

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• 787 Coyote Woman went onto a hill. The wolf said, "Your husband who was like
756 an enemy to you has been eaten up. Don't feel sorry for him, or I will never
159 help you."

Before she went home, she cut deep gashes in her arms and legs with a flint knife and cut the sleeves from her dress. As she approached the village, she began to cry, and all the people ran out to learn the cause of her mourning. She said that her husband and all his party were dead.

[753] She began doctoring the sick people the way she had formerly been instructed by the bear.⁸ She examined her patients first to learn what caused the illness. Some were made ill by the snakes or bugs in their bodies; others from the influence of evil spirits; others from the loss of a god. She had a medicine song and a medicine root. If she found the pain was in one spot, she sucked with her mouth or a hollow horn, sometimes drawing out long slim worms or maggots of different colors. She pressed the stomach for pains located in the stomach or bowels and blew chewed-up cedar bark over the patient; when a person had a headache, she let out blood from the forehead.

756 The stone was burned so our people lost that. When Coyote Woman was
159 old, she did not sell my mother the right to doctor, but my mother often heard her tell how she cured her patients. We have always believed since then that the bear was the greatest of all doctors.

844 Certain doctors were called upon to help women laboring in childbirth.
159 Some of the women of the house would fill a pipe and place it before the woman they wished to act as midwife or doctor. The doctor gave instructions which must be carried out and set the price which was for the number of days she would serve. If she failed to help the patient in that time, she left to give another a chance to cure the patient. If the doctor failed to cure the patient in the time designated, the relatives might again place the pipe before her, and she was obliged to remain longer. Extra goods were then paid for the additional time. When the doctor entered the lodge where the woman in labor lived, she ordered all the men and small children out, and women then in their menstrual period were asked to stay away from the lodge. Should any woman during her menstrual period come into the lodge, sage was immediately burned in four places in the lodge, two fires being made of sage painted red and two of white sage.⁹ If this was not done, it was believed that the patient might die. A special song was sung during the burning of the sage, for which the doctor received an additional fee. The doctor called in two young girls while the four fires were burning and asked them to doctor the patient in her stead by singing the medicine songs and dancing around the sick person. At the end of the songs, the two girls walked to the sick person and said, "You are well now," and left the lodge. The doctor then continued to administer to the sick woman.

[841] The doctor selected an old woman to take the child as soon as it came. Women gave birth to children usually in bed or on a robe laid on the floor. The lodge was darkened, and only the doctor and the sick woman's mother were allowed inside. As soon as the child was born, a wide belt was bound tightly around the mother's abdomen. Because of the cost, many women did not engage a doctor unless difficulty was experienced.

8. Bear bundle rites were inherited in the Bear clan until the clan died out after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

9. Apparently this practice was a part of each doctoring rite. Red sage represented the sun and white sage represented the moon.

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Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound. 755
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The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood." 758
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The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide¹³ to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right. 777

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.¹⁴ Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites. 776

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One-time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals 787 •
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13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832-1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

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came to him and promised him many things, taught him medicine songs and told him how to make a bundle.

He came back to the village where there were just a few Mandan living. The Ree were living in the village too and were mistreating the Mandan, but when they heard he was a holy man, they gave him robes and blankets to keep him from doing them harm.

When my father was grown, my grandfather said, "I am going to fix you up with the gods I have and teach you everything the bear, porcupine, and otter taught me. I will give you the songs, but you will have to pay me for them. I will teach you all the things I have been taught in my dreams."

He made a hole through two bullets; one he tied around my father's neck and the other round the wrist. He made a shield and painted a picture of a bear, porcupine, and otter on it, but the bear had two heads. He tied a soft eagle feather to the shield.

"If they shoot this little feather, they will kill you. Otherwise they can't kill you or hurt you in battle,"¹⁵ he said.

He told my father, Moves Slowly, how to fix up the medicine for battle. Twice my father struck an enemy. This power was given him to be lucky, and his exploits brought him a high place in the tribe.

He once said to my father, "If the spirits agree, I will know it." He taught my father's sister the songs.¹⁶ One time he asked the women to bring much firewood into the earth lodge and get out his three drums because he was going to bring all the gods in that night. He stood a long pole with a rattle tied on the end up through the smokehole. There was another rattle near the kettle beside the fireplace. There was a small sweat lodge in one corner of the earth lodge. Many people came in to look on. Two men tied him up hand and foot and put him in the sweat lodge. He was to bring in the spirits while the girl sang his medicine songs. The people were told that the spirits would hit them if they were not quiet. Soon the rattles began to shake, and the spirits came down and untied him and tied the lariat up in a knot. Then he ordered the fire built up, and everything was bright again.

He was able to name the person stealing things and locate lost storage pits. The spirits on the mountains showed him how to detect thieves or find things. One time some friends made a robe, but before it was finished someone stole it. They called my father in to sing his medicine songs. While he was singing, a dog barked out in the village and two men going by told him they passed a man wearing a robe that had not been trimmed around the edge. It was a Ree who had stolen it.

Another time he had just finished ten arrows. He had given a horse for the heads on the arrows and was proud of them. He missed them so that night he sang the medicine songs and asked the gods to help him find them. When he finished, he just wandered aimlessly through the village and went into a lodge, not knowing why he did. He told about his arrows and one of the men in the lodge said there was a young man sleeping there who had nice ones. They were the arrows he lost. So my father believed the promise made by his father that "the spirits would send powers" was true.

15. The feather represented the source of his power, and the only way to harm him was by breaking or destroying his connection with the supernatural.

16. This form of inheritance from parents to children was characteristic of personal bundles which should not be confused with tribal bundles which were theoretically clan owned.

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Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil.

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for-

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mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,¹⁷ Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The ~~Hidatsa~~ performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the Numak-maxEne bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

796 times he painted a picture of the plant or animal dreamed of on a robe for the
 778 person giving the feast; for this service he was paid robes, horses, or blankets.

159 He was the head singer in the Goose Women's ceremony and was the owner of the songs addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies, but he bought those extra. In the spring, the Goose Women's Society danced under his direction, and he supervised the sale of the society to the younger women; he officiated in the ceremonial transfer of the holy objects belonging to the society.

[78] Someone during the winter always dreamed that the corn crop would be large if he or she put on a feast to the corn. The one having the vision then sent word by someone of his father's clan to ask the Corn bundle-owner to take charge. The giver prepared robes and food. At the appointed time, which was when the waterbirds came north, all those with rights met. Participating were the Corn bundle-owner, all those with the medicine of garden products or associated animals and birds, the Black Mouth Men's Society, and Goose Women's Society. The Corn bundle was carried into the earth lodge and opened at the entrance to the sweat lodge, where it was laid out on a deer skull and elkskin. Songs were addressed to the Corn Bundle People who came out of the ground; additional songs were addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Only four stones were used in the sweat, each one representing one of the Sun's visits to Waving Corn Stalk. The stones were our enemies just as the Sun had been. The giver of the ceremony named four enemies he wished to conquer while the stones were taken into the sweat lodge. Those entering the sweat lodge imitated the geese and waterbirds while the Corn bundle-owner sang his four songs. Those not entering the sweat lodge were sprinkled with water dipped from the clay vessel belonging to the bundle. Corn and beans often came up into peoples throats while the ceremony was in progress; those people danced and rubbed their throats with sage to put the objects back down. Food was served to the Corn bundle and then to the guests.

The giver of the ceremony gave each person attending a robe or present and received in return a prayer for the giver's success. When the ceremony was completed, an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies was made from an elk robe and lashed to a pole in front of the giver's lodge.

The Corn bundle-owner was expected to ask the help of the spirits who sent good crops. In the spring before seeding time, he held the ceremony of cleansing the seeds so that they would germinate. Early on the appointed day he went to the top of his earth lodge where he faced to the south singing the Corn bundle songs to call the spirits of the corn back from the south. He held a vessel containing shelled corn. Each woman making a garden came to him and received two seeds of each kind of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash, paying for them and the prayers he addressed to his gods. Payment was made in elk robes, blankets, and other clothing.

778 The Corn bundle-owner underwent numerous taboos while the crops were
 241 growing. Owners of minor Corn bundles prepared his food beginning four days
 784 before the cleansing of the seed. When the previous year's crop was poor, he lived apart from all women until the crop was ripe and the seed corn for the next season had been gathered. He painted his body red and wore moccasins of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside. He wore a robe all summer long. He was not permitted to eat plums, berries, or corn. All the people of the tribe knew that after the cleansing ceremony the restrictions went into effect and were careful not to violate any of the rules lest the crop fail. Each woman kept

EAGLE-TRAPPING CEREMONY

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223 or a foxskin. When trapping in the lake region east of the Missouri either a stuffed duck or goose was used. When a suitable bait was difficult to secure, the head and neck of an antelope were used. Usually the bait was secured while the party was traveling to the trapping grounds. When a stuffed skin was used, a piece of raw meat was tied to it. Some picketed a live eagle near the pit when one was available, if luck was unusually bad. There was a song to the bait which the leader used when "tying the bait," as well as a prescribed method of carrying it to and from the pit.

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• [787] Torture of the trappers, by one of several techniques, occurred regularly, and there was a prescribed ritual for the person offering himself. It was believed that someone should "suffer for the birds" if the expedition were to be successful. The Mandan felt, after uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, that visions were difficult to secure in the village ceremonies because there were too many ill-informed people, particularly women, who violated the customs. Crows Heart frequently stated that torture in the Okipa ceremony was less frequently practiced and that he preferred to seek a vision away from the village. Usually a young man would decide beforehand to seek a vision while away from the village trapping eagles, the type of torture being recommended by an older clan brother. The Chief of the Hunter's duty was to pierce the flesh and insert the thongs, except that, when he stood in a joking relationship with the vision-seeker, he could not serve, and another was selected, usually his assistant. Some trappers pulled buffalo skulls through camp by means of thongs fastened through the skin of the back. Crows Heart once hung over a cliff by means of thongs through the skin of the chest. Bears Arm hung from a tree. Sometimes the vision-seeker had no preference, and the leader suggested that he bring wood into camp. In such instances, wood was tied up into twelve bundles,³⁴ to which lariats were fastened, and dragged to camp by means of thongs through the flesh to which the lariats were tied. All the wood was dragged into camp without help from others, the sufferer even removing his moccasins to make the pain more severe. Tortur-

34. Each bundle represented one of the eagle's tail feathers.

778 quired much "power" to pursue successful war and hunting activities.

785 A Mandan would say, "I claim no power for myself. I have no power except what my sacred objects have promised me." Children were protected by the parents' bundles until they were old enough to fast.

778 A young man on his first war expedition usually carried a sacred object from his father's bundle. This practice was repeated until the potency of the son's sacred bundle was established.

789 Supernatural power was acquired by the purchase of tribal bundles, feasts to tribal bundles, ceremonial sexual license, self-torture, and by showing kindness to the old people. The Mandan also believed that some people were "adopted" by a supernatural being without the novice's knowledge, since some people possessing no important tribal or individual bundles were unusually successful.

789 Women participating in sexual ceremonialism during the buffalo-calling rites contributed to the husband's supernatural powers." The writer interviewed a number of women who had 796 "walked with the buffaloes," as the practice is called. All agreed 837 that they sought a good home; a loyal husband who was successful in hunting and warfare, good health, and plenty of food and clothing. They believed that the sexual act was tantamount to intercourse with the buffaloes, who, when placated, sent the herds to the prairies near the villages and promised the warriors success in warfare. Ceremonial sexual intercourse strengthened the marital bonds. It was believed that the buffaloes did all that they promised in dreams. Dreams were easy to get from the buffaloes.

778 The concept of "power" as a substance was further demonstrated by the manner of handling sacred objects. During the buffalo-calling ceremonies, the men impersonating buffaloes 789 held out their sacred bundles for the women to press to their naked breasts. A woman placed her arms on the "holy man," dragging her arms downward toward the hand holding the bundle as though drawing the sacred powers possessed from the body into the sacred bundle, which was then taken from the buffalo impersonator and held to her breast. By this act it was

SUMMARY

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ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo.

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision inspired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century.

The personal bundles constitute another important group of sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died.

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of

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775 In this description of an after life, there was a marked mixture of ideas. The idea of multiple souls is Siouan, the rest is more or less common over most of the region.

776 As usual in the plains area every natural phenomenon and
 821 unaccountable event was mystery or medicine, and the medicine idea played the usual important part in all their religious customs. Thunder was ascribed to the familiar thunder-bird, the glitter of whose eyes dug a path through the clouds for the rain and caused the lightning.¹ Solitary claps of thunder were ascribed to a huge turtle which lived in the clouds. The rainbow was said to be a spirit which accompanies the sun and which shows itself when the sun retires for the night. The aurora borealis was said to be the fire kindled at an assembly of the great medicine men and warriors of the northern nations, over which they cooked their dead enemies in huge pots.² They had several beliefs about the stars—that of the Sioux, that each star is a man, and when a child is born the star comes down and when he dies it returns; also that a multitude of supernatural beings existed in the stars to which sacrifices and prayers were offered. Dreams were of very great importance and governed nearly all their acts.

• [787] There were many small personal superstitions or mysteries.
 789 One man told Maximilian that he could turn a snowball into a
 843 white stone, another claimed that his nose always bled if he picked up his pipe by the bowl. There were many signs of good and bad luck. A pregnant woman was considered to bring luck at the game of Skohpe. The medicine men told them that if a clay image of an enemy were made with a needle or quill in it for a heart, and were placed at the foot of some medicine structure, that enemy would die. A pregnant woman brings bad luck to her husband in hunting. Many of the Mandans believed that they had some animal, as a buffalo, turtle or frog in them; the women had a dance when they thought an ear of corn was in them, which the dance caused to come out.³ There were a number of other superstitions of this sort, mostly common to all the plains tribes. One more notable might be mentioned, however, that of building the fire with two sticks crossed in the center,

¹ Ibid., p. 422.² Ibid., p. 423.³ Ibid., p. 463.

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under two years old. These hides were worth ten to fifteen horses or sixty ordinary robes. No man could be of great importance in the tribe unless he had at one time owned one of them. Immediately on its acquisition the hide was hung up on a pole before the owner's lodge and consecrated to the Lord of Life, the sun, or the First Man. The ceremony of consecration was rather elaborate and was conducted by the shaman. A great mass of valuables, the collection of three or four years, was also offered or given away at the same time. The robe was either left suspended until it rotted away, or was taken down and cut into strips, one of which was worn by each member of the owner's family.

The Mandans seem to have had something in the nature of shrines and sacred images both natural and artificial. First among the artificial ones might be mentioned the Ark or Big Canoe which has already been described. This formed the central figure for most of the Mandan ceremonial dances. There was also the image of Ochkih-Hedde which hung before the medicine lodge; and there were similar images hanging before nearly every one of the other lodges, these were made of skin, branches and earth¹ and were intended to represent the Lord of Life and the First Man. Other shrine-like structures were built on the prairie. One of these is described by Maximilian.²

" . . . Four poles are placed in a square, the two front ones garnished at the base with a pile of earth and sod. Between them are four buffalo skulls in a row, between the two back poles are twenty-six human skulls painted partly with red stripes, behind the whole are two knives fixed in the ground. The poles are surmounted by bundles of branches; on these again is a crest of pieces of sharp wood, the ends painted red. . . . Sometimes on two of the poles are tied stuffed figures to represent the sun and moon, or the Lord of Life and the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Wild absinthe (wormwood) is attached by handfuls to the poles." These are probably the same things which Catlin mentions in connection with the burial customs.

Chief among the natural shrines was the medicine rock of

¹ Maximilian: p. 444.

² Ibid., p. 460.

778 which Lewis and Clarke, Henry, Catlin, and Maximilian all give
 781 accounts. The Mandans told Lewis and Clarke that this rock,
 which was at three days march to the southwest, informed them
 of every thing to happen during the year and that they visited
 it every spring and sometimes in the summers.¹ The descrip-
 tion which Maximilian gives of this rock seems worth repetition:
 "It is situated at two or three days from the village on the
 edge of the Cannonball River from which it is about one hun-
 dred paces. They say it is on the summit of a rather high
 hill, the top of which is level. It is marked by the foot-
 prints of men and other animals, dogs and travois. It is a
 sort of oracle. They offer it all sorts of valuable articles —
 knives, pipes, cloth. . . . When going to war they pass
 near and consult the stone. They approach it, weep, groan,
 smoke, and retire to a distance where they pass the night. Next
 day they take down on parchment what the stone shows. This
 painted parchment is carried to the village where the old men
 interpret it. Undoubtedly new figures are seen on the stone
 from time to time. Not far from this place was the ark where
 part of the nation was saved." The Minnetarees also had one
 of these medicine stones which was consulted in practically
 the same way. One more of their natural sacred objects deserves
 778 mention; this was a lake some distance from their villages
 782 where a great serpent, formerly a Mandan warrior, was said to
 reside. This serpent was a good genius and offerings of all
 sorts were thrown into the lake to procure his aid.

791 The shaman although mentioned occasionally is not de-
 scribed, nor are his powers well defined by any of the authori-
 ties. Maximilian remarked that there were shamans who
 gathered herbs and pretended to cure diseases and others who
 did tricks and conducted preparations for the ceremonies.

773 MYTHOLOGY:—Practically all material on Mandan mythology
 539 comes from Maximilian who wrote down a large number of
 stories directly as they were told to him by a Mandan chief,
 Dipeuch. Catlin and Lewis and Clarke reinforce these with a
 few details. It is found by analysis of the myths given by
 Maximilian that two distinct, parallel, mythological stories of

¹ Lewis and Clarke: Feb. 21, 1805.

THE MEDICINE STONE.

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they hate me, therefore carry me to the long water, three days' journey from the Missouri." This, ⁷⁷³
 too, was done, but the serpent not liking his new abode, his comrade was obliged to carry him to a ⁷⁷⁸
 second lake, called Histoppe-Numangka (the place of the tattooed countenance), when the
 serpent was satisfied, and resolved to remain. He commissioned the young man to bring him four
 things, viz. a white wolf, a polecat, some pounded maize, and eagles' tails: after this he was to go
 to war four times, and kill an enemy in each combat. All this accordingly took place. The
 serpent then added that he would always remain in this lake, never die, be medicine, and, when
 the Mandans desired anything, they might come hither, do penance, or make offerings, that is
 to say, hang robes, eagles' tails, and other articles of value, on poles on the banks of the lake,
 which the Indians sometimes do even to this day.

Another curiosity of a similar nature is the Medicine Stone, which is mentioned by Lewis ⁷⁸⁷ ●
 and Clarke, and which the Manitaries likewise reverence. This stone is between two and three ⁷⁷⁸
 days' journey from the villages on Cannon-ball River, and about 100 paces from its banks. I was
 assured that it was on a tolerably high hill, and in the form of a flat slab, probably of sand-
 stone. The stone is described as being marked with impressions of the footsteps of men, and
 animals of various descriptions, also of sledges with dogs. The Indians use this stone as an
 oracle, and make offerings of value to it, such as kettles, blankets, cloth, guns, knives, hatchets,
 medicine pipes, &c., which are found deposited close to it. The war parties of both nations, when
 they take the field, generally go to this place, and consult the oracle as to the issue of their
 enterprise. Lamenting and howling, they approach the hill, smoke their medicine pipes, and pass
 the night near the spot. On the following morning they copy the figures on the stone upon
 a piece of parchment or skin, which they take to the village, where the old men give the
 interpretations. New figures are undoubtedly drawn from time to time on this stone, near to which
 the celebrated ark, in which part of the nation was saved in the great deluge, formerly stood.

The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, ⁷⁷⁸
 all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings ⁷⁸²
 of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kuah, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a
 square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and
 four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in
 a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a red
 stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is
 fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red (Vignette
 XIV). The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions;
 they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life,
 which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establish-
 ment is represented in Plate XXV., where a couple of human figures, very clumsily made of skins,

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782 were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

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304 Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams to be true. They were not yet acquainted with fire-arms, when one of the Indians dreamt of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon afterwards the white men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamt of horses before they obtained any. Even the Whites who live among them are infected with this belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything, the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaris have lost one or two joints of the fingers, and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus, they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, anawl, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the lower jaw, otherwise the child would die in convulsions. If the wife be pregnant, this circumstance is often the cause of much ill fortune to the husband, and he is frequently unsuccessful in hunting. If an Indian, in such cases, wounds a buffalo, without being able to kill it quickly, he endeavours to carry the heart of a buffalo home, and makes his wife discharge an arrow at it; he then again feels confidence in his weapons, that they will speedily kill. The Indians

777 affirm that a pregnant woman is very lucky at a game called billiards. Many consider it a bad omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the Whites, always takes hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediately stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire. The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when

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struck, emits fire. Many persons, even Whites, pretended they had seen this, and it is utterly useless to attempt convincing them to the contrary. The same man pretends that, during a dance, he plucked white feathers from a certain small bird, which he rolled between his hands, and formed of them, in a short time, a similar white stone. Sometimes an Indian takes it into his head to make his gun medicine, or to consecrate it, which he does not dare afterwards to part with. With this view he generally makes a yearly feast in the spring. The crier (kettle-tender, or marmison) must invite a certain number of guests, and receive an equal number of small sticks, which he delivers to them, as a sign of their being invited; nay, now, European playing cards are actually sent round for this purpose. The guests appear, lay their guns aside, and take their places, on which the drum and schischikue go round, and every guest sings, and plays the drum and rattle. While this music is going on, they eat the food which has been dressed, nor are they allowed to leave any of it. The host then takes his gun, cuts a piece of flesh, and with it rubs the barrel, and flings the meat into the fire; this is repeated thrice. He then takes up some of the water in which the meat was boiled, rubs the whole length of the barrel with it, pours the rest of the broth into the fire; and, lastly, takes fat, with which he rubs the whole of his gun, and then throws the remainder into the fire.

A great many Mandans and Manitaris believe that they have wild animals in their body; one, for instance, affirmed he had a buffalo calf, the kicking of which he often felt; others said they had tortoises, frogs, lizards, birds, and so forth. Among the Manitaris we saw medicine dances of the women, where one pretended that she had a head of maize in her body, which she cast out by dancing, and then ate, after it had been mixed with wormwood. Another discharged blood, but of this we shall speak in the sequel. Similar feasts are seen among the Mandans also. They likewise relate a number of foolish stories of miraculous and supernatural events. Thus, a girl refused to marry, and had no intercourse with the other sex. One night, while she was asleep, a man lay down by her side, on which she awoke, and saw him go away in a white buffalo robe. As he returned on the two succeeding nights, she resolved to mark him, and stained her hand with red. He appeared, and she gave him a blow, with her hand, on his back, not being able to hold him. On the following day she examined all the robes in the whole village, but could not find the mark of her hand, till at length she discovered it on the back of a large white dog. Some months after, as the Indians are fully persuaded, she was delivered of seven young dogs. The people consider owls as medicine birds, and pretend to hold conversations with them, and to understand their attitudes and voices; often, indeed, they keep these animals alive in their huts, and look upon them as soothsayers. I shall, subsequently, have occasion to speak of the manner in which they catch all kinds of birds of prey, which feed on the flesh of dead animals, particularly eagles, which they sometimes preserve alive. They frequently look upon them as medicine.

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224 The wolf and the fox are sometimes shot with a gun, as well as the white hare, in the winter time, or they are caught in traps. They set for the wolves very strong traps. The prairie wolf is not easily caught, being very cautious. Foxes are caught in small traps, which are covered with brushwood and buffaloes' skulls, to conceal them. Many such traps are seen everywhere in the prairies, which are surrounded with small stakes, that the animals may not enter them sideways. Beavers are now caught, in great numbers, in iron traps, which they procure from the Whites. Small animals, such as the ermine, are caught with horsehair springes, set before their burrows. The manner in which birds of prey are caught is said to be very remarkable.

223 The birdcatcher lies down at full length in a narrow pit made on purpose, and exactly large enough to hold him. As soon as he has lain down, the pit is covered with brushwood and hay, pieces of meat are laid upon it, and a crow, or some such bird, fastened to it. The eagle, or other bird of prey, is said to descend, and to sit down, in order to eat, on which the birdcatcher seizes it by the leg. I would not believe this had not men worthy of credit given me their word for it. In this manner they catch the eagle, called, by the English, the war-eagle, and the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), the Quiliou, or *oiseau de medicine*, of the Canadians, which I was not so fortunate as to meet with, and which they highly value, as I have already stated.

721 Not to the chase, war is the ~~chief~~ employment of the Indians, and military glory the highest object of their ambition. It is well known that Indian bravery is very different from that of the Whites; for wilfully to expose themselves to the enemy's fire would, in their eyes, not be bravery, but folly. Cunning and stratagem give them the advantage over the enemy; their strength lies in concealing their march, and surprises at daybreak. He who kills many enemies without sustaining any loss is the best warrior.

721 When a young man desires to establish his reputation in the field, he fasts for four or seven days, as long as his strength permits him, goes alone to the hills, complains and cries to the lord of life, calls incessantly to the higher powers for their aid, and only goes home, sometimes, in the evening, to sleep. A dream suggests his medicine to him. If the lord of life makes him dream of a piece of cherry-tree wood, or of an animal, it is a good omen. The young men who take the field with him have then confidence in his medicine. If he can perform an exploit his reputation is established. But whatever exploits he may perform, he acquires no respect if he does not make valuable presents; and they say of him, "He has indeed performed many exploits, but yet he is as much to be pitied as those whom he has killed." A man may have performed many exploits, and yet not be allowed to wear tufts of hair on his clothes, unless he carries a medicine pipe, and has been the leader of a war party. When a young man, who has never performed an exploit, is the first to kill an enemy on a warlike expedition, he

721 paints a spiral line round his arm, of whatever colour he pleases, and he may then wear a whole wolf's tail at the ankle or heel of one foot. If he has first killed and touched the

721) the prisoners ere they can reach the village, and kill them; this is especially an act of revenge for
727 their husbands or sons who may have fallen in the battle.

721) When a young man desires to become a leader, or partisan, he first gains, by gifts, the favour
555 of the other young men, and then dedicates a medicine pipe, which is a plain, unornamented tube. This ceremony is accomplished by a four days' fast, and supplications for assistance to the lord of life, the first man, &c. &c., and other supernatural beings. He then addresses the young men, and calls upon them to give him their support in his undertakings. If a sufficient number testify their readiness to accompany him in a warlike expedition, and such an expedition is determined upon, they dance and feast in the medicine lodge for several successive nights, from whence, too, they generally march off by night. The women never accompany these expeditions. On setting out the men are badly clothed, and not painted. They do not depart in a body, but, for the most part, singly, or in small detached parties. At a certain distance from the village they halt upon an isolated hill, open their medicine bags, and, after the men have sat down in a circle, the partisan produces his medicine pipe, which all present smoke; the person who smokes last, then spreads his medicines on the ground, or hangs them up, and from them foretells the fate of the expedition. The Indians manifest much gravity and decorum on solemn occasions like these.

727 When the warriors return from their expedition, the scalps are carried on in advance, on
535 high poles: if they have performed any exploits, they paint their faces black; very frequently the whole body is thus disfigured. The women and children go out to meet them, and they enter the village performing the scalp dance. This dance is then repeated four successive nights in the medicine lodge, and is subsequently danced in the open space, in the centre of the village. If the campaign took place in the spring, it is danced, at intervals, till the fall of the leaf in autumn; if in the autumn, it is danced till spring, but should any of the nation be killed in the interim all festivities immediately cease. In the scalp dance the Indians paint themselves in various ways, form a semicircle, advance, and retreat amid the din of singing, the beating of the drum and schischikné. The wives of those men who have obtained the scalps carry them on long rods.

555 All the distinguished deeds performed by a war party are placed to the account of the partisan. All the scalps that are taken belong to him, and also the horses that they have captured. He who has killed an enemy is a brave man, and reckons one exploit; but the partisan rises the highest on that account, even though he had not seen any of the enemies who have been slain. When he returns home, the old men and women meet, and sing the scalp song, on which he must make them all presents of value. He gives away all the captured horses, and valuable articles, and is afterwards a poor man, but his reputation is great. Successful partisans afterwards become chiefs, and are highly respected by their nation. The Indian youths go to war when they are only fourteen or fifteen years of age. Sometimes they make excursions on horseback in the winter.

526 covered with dust and sweat. The race is at least six miles long,
481 and it is surprising to see what a great distance some of them gain
702 upon others. This violent exercise is performed on the hottest
summer days, and it is a wonder that some of them do not pay
dearly for their temerity.

541 During my absence yesterday [July 21 - Analyst] my people,
who remained here, witnessed a horse race. The Mandanes as-
sembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three
miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a
body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing
their course along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at
full speed around the village. Some of their horses appeared very
swift and spirited, but others were miserable animals. On their
arrival, they performed their warlike manoeuvres on horseback,
feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their
strokes of the battleax and thrusts of the spear, and defending
themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with
their shields.

526 ... I observed one particular game among the Mandanes, which
the young men were continually playing. Two persons are each
provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain num-
ber of notches, an inch long, in the intervals of which are fixed
the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with
three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one
in the middle; these are perforated in the center, and through them
is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a par-
ticular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—
indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on
which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5
broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the
ground, and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them
throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll
further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both
players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the
ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular
notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count ac-
cordingly.

304 The greater part of the men—Big Bellies, Mandanes, and
787 Saulteurs (Soulriers)—have lost a joint of several fingers, [364]
735 particularly of the left hand, and it is not uncommon to see only the

[p. 384(F)]

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● 787
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two forefingers and thumbs entire. Amputation is performed for the loss of a near relation, and likewise during the days of penance, on which they display their fortitude and courage in the following manner: When a young man has attained the age of 20 years, he generally, in the depth of winter, performs his penance by setting out entirely naked and alone, with only two or three pairs of shoes, the iron barb of an arrow, and no means of making a fire. In this condition he repairs to a certain high hill, a day's journey from the village. On this hill he must remain as many days as his strength will permit, during which time he neither eats, drinks, nor sleeps, but passes the time in dancing, bawling, howling, and lamenting. Here also he amputates a finger with the iron barb brought for that purpose. Some have been known to be absent seven days in the severest weather. This may appear incredible, but I have it from several eye-witnesses of such pilgrimages, and do not doubt it. After several days—more or fewer—the penitent makes his appearance, coming at full speed, and as there is continually somebody upon the huts, information is instantly given of his return. He is met by a particular friend, who has kept account of the number of days he has been absent, and for every day has been prepared a bull's head, to which has been fastened 1 1/2 fathoms of cord. The other end of this is affixed to an incision in the penitent's back or shoulders, by pinching up a fold of skin and flesh, through which is thrust the barb of an arrow; as many days as he has been absent, so many must be the incisions, and the number of heads must also tally with them. He must then walk around the village, howling and bawling, with all those bulls' heads trailing on the ground; in some places, where the ground is rough, the poor fellow must pull and tug hard to get through, as the horns continually catch in uneven spots, and often fall into some of the empty corn pits, where they would hold until the skin gave way or the cord broke, were they not [365] attended to by some children who make it their business to disengage the horns. So many days as he has been absent, so many times must he walk round the village, never ceasing to utter lamentations. Some have been known to fall senseless during this painful ordeal; but even then they only allow themselves a few moments to recover, and proceed again. Having finished the necessary rounds, he is disengaged from the bulls' heads by his friend; with a long harangue, applauding his courage and fortitude; he may then retire to his hut and take care of his wounds, as he is in a shocking condition. Some never recover, and others languish for months before they get well.

[p. 364(G)]